100th ANNIVERSARY OF DEBS' BIRTHDAY

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THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

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Chicago City Hall Picketed By the NAACP

By Bert Deck

CHICAGO, Oct. 25 — A mass picket line of 1200 was thrown around Chicago's City Hall today to demand action from Mayor Daley (Democrat) on the Trumbull Park racist terror. The demonstration was sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and endorsed by the Cook County CIO Council.

The Trumbull Park housing project is called Chicago's "Little Mississippi." In the NAACP's call to action it is reported that Negro tenants in the project cannot and dare not walk the public streets in Trumbull for fear of life and limb. They are still transported to and from the project in squad cars. Aerial bombs are still being exploded in the area and Negroes driving there are still being stoned. All of this and so much more has been going on for more than two years.

Pickets were mobilized at eight union halls and numerous churches throughout the city and were transported to the demonstration point. Organized union support came from the CIO Packinghouse Workers and the UAW International Harvester locals.

The marchers formed a double line around City Hall which occupies an entire city block. Many carried posters which described the facts about Trumbull Park and demanded immediate action.

The most militant section of the line consisted of the housewives who vigorously chanted the slogans, "Jim Crow must go!" "No more committees. We want action now." "Daley! Do your duty!"

Although a number of local unions participated in the demonstration, no union banners appeared on the line. Of the 1200 marchers approximately 50 were white.

The advance publicity for the march was handicapped by the complete silence of the daily press which "killed" the story. Also many workers were unable to participate because they had to work during the hours in which the picket line was scheduled — from 11 A.M. to 3 P.M.

It is too soon to tell whether Mayor Daley, under the pressure of the Negro population, will make any gestures to improve the situation in Trumbull Park. His record demonstrates that continued pressure will be necessary.

The current activity by the NAACP has been galvanized by the recent Till lynching and the whitewash trial. The mass resentment has pushed the struggle to beat back the racists in Trumbull Park to its highest level so far.

The brutal Mississippi lynching of Emmett Louis Till brought out 250,000 people to walk by his casket in Chicago over the Labor Day weekend. On Sept. 25, in response to a protest rally sponsored by the Chicago branch of the NAACP, an overflow crowd roared approval of a resolution calling for a March on Washington to demand immediate enactment of civil rights legislation.

Just recently the Chicago Branch of the NAACP called for sending federal troops to Mississippi to end the white-supremacist reign of terror.

A CONTRADICTION

However, the Negro and labor leaders here are in the same contradiction as elsewhere in the country. In order to give any expression to the pent-up fury of the Negro people, they are forced into actions against the Democratic Party, which they support in elections.

Mayor Daley was elected last spring with the help of the Negro and labor leadership. Only six months later they are forced to organize demonstrations against Daley.

The alternatives now posed for these leaders are either to continue to mobilize the Negro people and the labor movement for a real fight against Jim Crow, which means a break with the Democratic Party; or, under the orders of the Democratic Party tops, to try to prevent such demonstrations as took place today before City Hall.

Govt. Pursues Kutcher Eviction to High Court

The federal government continues to relentlessly hound and persecute legless veteran James Kutcher and his family. The latest move in this cruel and shameless affair is the request of the Newark Housing Authority to the New Jersey Supreme Court Oct. 10 that it overrule an injunction prohibiting it from evicting Kutcher's 75-year-old father, Hyman, from the Seth Boyden federal housing project.

The legless World War II veteran has been fighting the federal "loyalty" purge since 1949 when he was fired from his clerical job in the Newark Veterans Administration because of his openly-proclaimed socialist beliefs and affiliations.

The attempt to evict Kutcher's family started Dec. 30, 1952. At the time Hyman Kutcher received a letter from the Newark Housing Authority informing him that under the Gwinn law, passed in July 1952, he was required to sign a "loyalty" oath certifying that no person occupying the premises belonged to any of the 203 organizations on the Attorney General's "subversive" list.

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION

While the elder Kutcher was in no way sympathetic to socialism he couldn't sign the oath unless he first evicted his son. Barring that he was "guilty" of associating with his son. And the whole family was subject to eviction.

The American Civil Liberties Union entered the case to test the Gwinn law. Subsequently Superior Court Judge G. Dixon Speakman issued an injunction against the eviction. But instead of ruling on the constitutional issue he based his injunction on the technicality that the specific "subversive" list submitted to the Housing Authority was not authorized by the Gwinn law.

It is this injunction that the Newark Housing Authority wants overruled by the Supreme Court of New Jersey so that it can proceed with the inhuman business of throwing the legless veteran and his aged parents out of their home.

Meanwhile the Kutcher Civil Rights Committee is raising funds to take the next legal step in the fight to regain Kutcher's job. A victory in this fight, all civil liberties authorities agree, would be a crushing blow to the "subversive" list and all the witch-hunt practices that are based upon it.

JAMES KUTCHER

Foxholes in the Street

National guardsmen man the foxholes at Perfect Circle plant gates. Machine guns were to be used against pickets to allow free entree of scabs into the strike bound plant. Although martial law has been ended,. guardsmen still remain on duty.

MARTIAL LAW IS ENDED IN INDIANA BUT TROOPS STILL PROTECT SCABS

By Henry Gitano

Oct. 20 — Indiana's Gov. George Craig ended marital law today in the area of the Perfect Circle strike. National Guardsmen, however, will remain at New Castle, scene of the bloody attack on peaceful UAW-CIO pickets by armed scabs three weeks ago.

Craig called out the troops and declared martial law Oct. 10 on the pretext of closing down the New Castle plant to prevent further violence. But on Oct. 11 the troops escorted a bunch of scabs into the strike-bound piston ring foundry, while a court injunction, backed by militia, tanks and machine guns prevented any effective picketing.

The Perfect Circle strikers in New Castle, who have been out since July 25, are standing firm despite the 14-week drive to smash their union with bullets, national guardsmen, scabs, injunctions, police brutality and Taft - Hartley decertification moves.

It is obvious that the Perfect Circle bosses are eager to carry through their offensive and break the strike — thus establishing the 1955 model of the Mohawk Valley formula used in the Thirties to smash strikes. It is also clear that interest in the "Perfect Circle Formula" is not confined to the management of the company. The eyes of the whole union-hating American capitalist class are on Indiana.

The Perfect Circle bosses, headed by Lothair Teetor who is "on leave" as Assistant Secretary of Commerce in Washington, have responded to this national interest in their open shop "crusade" by hiring the services of the public relations firm of Selvage and Lee. This is the same firm that represents Kohler Co., of Sheboygan, Wisconsin, where another UAW-CIO local is waging a 19-month old strike against that union-busting firm.

"RIGHT TO SCAB" LAW

William Prosser, general manager of Perfect Circle, expressed the objective of the company in a letter to the scabs posted on the bulletin board inside the foundry. The letter said the strike breakers "are making a personal contribution to the crusade which will undoubtedly result in the passage of laws establishing the right of an individual to work where he pleases without paying tribute to anyone."

Socialist Publications Fund Opens Drive at a Brisk Pace

The Socialist Publication and Press Fund got off to a flying start on Oct. 15. A total of $1571.50 was received in the first two weeks of the campaign.

The need for a broad publications program is felt by militant workers all over the country. One cannot participate as a class-conscious fighter in the daily struggle of the working class without a hunger for more socialist literature which can explain in a simple and popular fashion the socialist goals we are fighting for.

Eugene V. Debs, whose birthday centenniary is celebrated in this issue, understood thoroughly the power of ideas in the fight for socialism. In 1904 he wrote in The Metal Worker, "The most vital thing about this world movement is its educational propaganda — its capacity and power to shed light in the brain of the working class, arouse them from their torpor, develop their faculties for thinking, teach them their economic class interests, effect their solidarity and imbue them with the spirit of the impending social revolution."

BEGINNING IS MADE

The Socialist Publication and Press Fund will provide the means to publish the socialist analysis of many current issues. They will appear as rapidly as the building of the fund makes possible. An advance copy of the first pamphlet to appear under the auspices of the Fund has just been received in Pioneer Publisher's office. It is titled "Desegregation, Labor's Stake in the Fight for Negro Equality" by Jean Simon. It will sell for ten cents.

In addition to the treatment of current struggles in the American labor movement, important historical works will appear, including Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis, a collection of the

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Till Verdict Encourages Terror Against Negroes, Unions Throughout South

Democrats Decide To Squash Fight On Civil Rights

A contemptuous slap in the face has been given to the Negro people and the labor movement by the Democratic Party. Negro and labor leaders have been demanding that the coming session of Congress immediately pass legislation to counteract the racist terror raging in Mississippi and other parts of the South. The Democratic leaders' answer came in the form of a decision to exclude all civil rights bills from the Congressional program for the next year.

As reported in a front-page article in the New York Times (Oct. 27), the Democratic leaders of the Senate have "agreed in principle on the main program for the second session of the 84th Congress opening in January in a presidential election year."

One of the main "principles" of the agreed-on policy is no civil rights legislation, or consideration of such, if it can be prevented. "There is every intention to avoid, if possible, such issues as compulsory civil rights bills — for federal sanctions against racial discrimination in hiring and so on — and repeal or basic alteration of the Taft-Hartley Labor Act," writes the N. Y. Times Washington correspondent.

Even more ominous — since sellouts of the Negro people and of labor are to be expected from capitalist politicians — is the report that top labor leaders have acceded to the dirty deal. The N. Y. Times article ends with the statement that informed Democratic circles "declare in private that some of the largest organizations of labor, which heretofore have been the sources of the strongest pressure for action in these fields [civil rights and Taft-Hartley], will be found not to be so insistent now."

The callous attitude of the Republican administration to the pleas of Negro leaders for some sort of federal intervention against Mississsippi terror was again demonstrated on Oct. 24. A delegation of 50 Negroes from Chicago came to Washington in an attempt to get the FBI to reconsider its refusal to investigate the Till lynching, or if not, at least to investigate the kidnaping which preceded the lynching. The Department of Justice gave the delegation a flat "No."

Guns Blast CIO Rally; Negro Desegregation Leader Flees for Life

By George Lavan

Exultant over the freeing of Emmett Till's lynchers, white supremacists throughout the South are engaging in ever bolder assaults on Negroes and unions.

In Florida, union-hating racists donned their Ku Klux Klan-type hoods and broke up a CIO Packinghouse Workers union meeting with shotgun fire.

In South Carolina, Rev. J. A. Delaine, Negro leader in the school desegregation fight, barely evaded vigilantes and a police dragnet to escape to New York. Racists recently burned down Delaine's church and then threatened his life. When he returned their gunfire, police issued a warrant for his arrest.

HOODED MEN

The attack on the Packinghouse Workers meeting took place on the night of Oct. 19 in the central Florida town of Umatilla. As the meeting was beginning, a car with covered license plates circled the hall four times. Then it stopped and four white men got out and put on hoods. They fired their shotguns four times through the windows of the Negro Masonic Hall, where the union meeting was being held. According to the UPWA, twelve unionists were wounded, five severely; three were hospitalized.

The meeting was part of a drive to organize the thousands of underpaid Negro citrus fruit workers. All attending the meeting, except one union organizer were Negro. Prior to the shooting KKK-signed leaflets had been distributed in the region threatening violence against attempts to organize the citrus workers.

The union called these leaflets to the attention of Lake County Sheriff Willis V. McCall. McCall is a notorious Negro killer and spokesman for the racist Association for the Advancement of White People. It was he who tried with his guns to overrule the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling for a new trial of the framed-up defendants in the Groveland or "Little Scottsboro" case. On the way to the new trial McCall ordered the two handcuffed Negroes out of his car on a lonely road. Then he shot them for "trying to escape." Defendant Samuel Shepherd was killed instantly but Walter Lee Irvin, who was believed dead miraculously recovered from his wounds. Lee is still in the Florida death house, victim of a Jim Crow frame-up.

The Groveland case originated in the labor unrest of Negro workers in a local sawmill. To meet their demands the white supremacist bosses decided on a reign of terror and some frame-ups to put the Negroes "back in their place." Accordingly a "rape" case was invented and immediately followed by the invasion of the Negro district of Groveland by racist gangs, the beatings of all Negroes and the looting of their property.

McCALL'S ROLE

Possibility of Sheriff McCall's cooperation with the shotgun terrorists is indicated by the fact that a few hours after the attack on the union meeting he suddenly left on a boat trip and was "unreachable" for three days.

UPWA President Ralph Helstein in Chicago immediately sent blistering telegrams to U.S. Attorney General Brownell and Florida Governor LeRoy Collins demanding the arrest of those guilty of wounding the Negro unionists and the suspension of McCall as sheriff of Lake County. Four days later Gov. Collins refused to suspend McCall and said the sheriff had assured him he was making a "diligent investigation" of the shooting.

"SEGREGATION MESS"

White supremacists in Lake City, S. C., credit Delaine with starting the "segregation mess," because he instituted the Clarendon County suit, one of the test cases on which the Supreme Court ruled against school segregation. Soon after the acquittal of Emmett Till's lynchers, Delaine's church was burned down. **Then came night attacks on his home. He reported to the police licenses of the cars containing the gunmen but to no avail. Finally he fired back and had to flee with police and racists hot on his heels. South Carolina is asking his extradition from New York for "assault with intent to kill."**

The Heritage of Eugene Debs

By Daniel Roberts

"During the lifetime of great revolutionaries," Lenin once wrote, "the oppressing classes have visited relentless persecution on them and received their teachings with the most savage hostility . . . After their death, attempts are made to turn them into harmless icons, canonize them and surround their names with a certain halo for the 'consolation' of the oppressed classes and with the object of duping them, while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge."

This certainly happened to Eugene V. Debs. Imprisoned twice in his life for his service to the working class, target of the most bitter outcry against a labor leader this nation has ever witnessed, his memory is now "honored" as that of a saintly reformer.

It is very easy to portray Debs as a saint. He was such a warm and loving human being with immense compassion for the oppressed and exploited! He had unbounded faith in the great potential for happiness lodged in every man and woman. And he fiercely hated the system whose injustices robbed the majority of happiness and transformed so many people into crushed, helpless and bitter individuals.

"While there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free," said Debs in the magnificent speech he delivered just before Judge Westenhaver sentenced him to ten years in prison for denouncing World War I.

That was the great heart of Eugene Debs speaking. Sixty-three years old at the time, he spoke with the idealism he had acquired in youth and never relinquished.

The detractors of Debs who canonize him while emasculating his revolutionary teachings want us to believe that only his humanitarianism is of any account today. They say in effect: We who work for reforms through support of the Democratic Party are helping to realize Deb's dreams.

To remain true to his heritage, they say, it is not necessary to uphold intransigently the revolutionary struggle for socialism as Debs did for the last 25 years of his life. Debs himself would have changed his program if he were alive today.

That is what the fakers of the "Socialist" Party — the Norman Thomas' and Harry Laidlers' who claim to carry on in Debs' tradition — say in their messages on the occasion of the Debs centennial. That will also be the line the Stalinists will take.

EUGENE DEBS (1855-1926)

But the heritage of Debs will not mix with the rotten policies of class-collaboration practiced by the "Socialist" and Stalinist fakers.

HIS PATH TO SOCIALISM

It is true that hatred of injustice did not prompt Debs to accept Socialism all at once. It took years of painful groping plus the experiences of great working class battles he led to bring him to revolutionary conclusions at the age of 40.

He had embraced and rejected all the illusions fostered by his present-day "Socialist" and Stalinist "admirers." For instance, he had supported the Democratic Party for many years and held elected office as a Democrat. At one time he had denounced class war as insane.

The event which more than any other impelled Debs to adopt revolutionary conclusions was the Pullman strike of 1894 which he led. Throughout the country 125,000 workers battled the united railroad corporations supported by the banks. The strike was broken when the Democratic President Cleveland used Federal troops against railroad workers in Chicago, the hub of the strike.

Debs then quit the Democratic party and proclaimed that only the abolition of the wage system could win for the workers their emancipation.

After more groping and struggling with various utopian socialist schemes he announced his definitive creed: industrial unionism, a revolutionary socialist party armed with the program of Marxism, stern and relentless opposition to the capitalist system.

At the same time he helped found the Social Democratic Party (later the Socialist Party). Thus he jumped from the greatest class battle U. S. workers had waged up to that time to its political generalization in the

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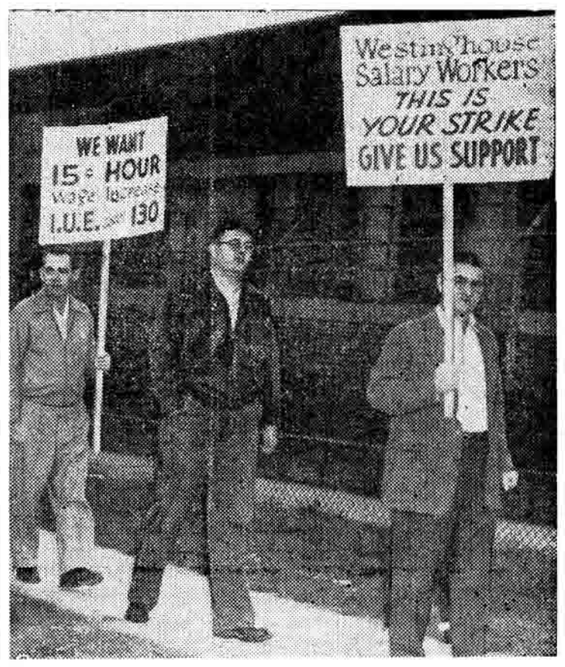
Picket Westinghouse Plant



For the second time in five weeks, the Int'l. Union of Electrical Radio and Machine Workers (CIO) shut down 29 Westinghouse Electric Corp. plants in a company wide strike. The union struck Oct. 16 for wage increase and against speed-up. Here IUE members picket plant in Baltimore.

Rode 250 Miles To Hear Debs

By A Railroad Worker

Editor:

On this one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Eugene V. Debs, American workers should consider it an honor and a privilege to pay tribute to his life.

I was introduced to the teachings of socialism by a personal friend about 40 years ago. I shall always remember that my friend and I rode a night train 250 miles in order to hear Debs speak in Minneapolis. To a packed house in the old Kenwood Armory, he explained what the workers of the world had to gain by establishing a socialist society and how to go about it to reach that objective. In referring to the Russian Revolution and the First World War, he made the statement that "the greatest thing that came out of this war was Lenin."

EUGENE DEBS

To railroad workers it is almost impossible in these times to realize the amount of work and the sacrifices made by Debs to build effective unions in the railroad industry. He worked almost singlehandedly to keep alive the Locomotive Firemen's union when nearly every one of the members wanted to give up the struggle. Then when we recall the action of the delegates to the 1922 convention of that union who voted down a motion to have Debs speak to them, we must wonder if such action was taken by union men or others. He, more than any other person, now living or dead, had made it possible for that union to meet and hold conventions. But the "fat boys" at that time and now have conveniently forgotten his struggles.

It is gratifying to us who are living today and who agree with his objectives, to realize that the pioneering done by him is beginning to be accepted by the workers, both on the political and trade union field. So let us carry on until the workers receive their just due.

Nothing can better express my own feelings than to quote from a message sent to Gene from his brother Theodore on the first day of Gene's stay in prison at Moundsville, West Virginia:

"Your unwavering fidelity to principle, your unfaltering love and devotion to the cause of the crushed and oppressed will be an unceasing inspiration. I was never so proud of you. My arms are about you, old pal, and will be through time and eternity."

The workers of America owe a great debt of gratitude to Gene Debs for his work in their behalf. We salute him once again.

A Railroad Worker

SWP Continues Debs' Struggle Against Capitalism and War

By Myra Tanner

"I hate, I loathe, I despise Junkers and junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the Junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the Junkers in the United States." With these words, Eugene Victor Debs struck out at the Wall Street war-makers in his Canton Ohio, speech, June 16, 1918.

Four days later he was indicted by the Federal government on charges of violating the Espionage Act. In his final speech to the jury Debs replied to his accusors: "I admit being opposed to the present form of government. I admit being opposed to the present social system. I am doing what little I can, and have been for many years, to bring about a change that shall do away with the rule of the great body of the people by a relatively small group and establish in this country an industrial and social democracy."

JAMES P. CANNON

DEBS CONVICTED

Debs was convicted. In April, 1919, he went to prison and served close to two years of his ten-year sentence before President Harding was forced to order his release.

The first World War "to save the world for democracy" could not tolerate the socialist opposition. U. S. imperialist objectives in the war could not be submitted to the light of public debate. The treaties were made in secret. And America's entry into the war was plotted in secret.

CARL SKOGLUND

Only after the slaughter was over would Woodrow Wilson ask quite cynically — Is there a man, woman or child who is still so naive as to believe that the war was fought for any but commercial reasons?

When the war was over the victors stripped Germany of its colonies and left the defeated robber weak and desolate — the breeding ground for the most terrible capitalist dictatorship in history. Fascism — not freedom — was the hideous bloom that grew out of the soil of the first "war for democracy."

Is it any wonder the "Wall Street Junkers," as Debs called them, could not tolerate the socialist opposition? With the imprisonment of Debs it was made clear to all the country that the price for speaking the truth would be jail. Only the warmongering lies of Wall Street were permitted a legally-sanctioned voice.

WORLD WAR II

As it was in World War I, so it was in World War II. On Oct. 27, 1941, eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party went on trial for their opposition to the second blood-bath. The prison doors closed on these loyal leaders of the working class on the last day of the year 1943. There they stayed for almost a year while war profits rolled into the coffers of Big Business.

James P. Cannon, Farrell Dobbs, Vincent Dunne, Carl Skoglund and fourteen others were the first to be tried and imprisoned under the infamous Smith "Gag" Act, passed in 1940 despite the opposition of the labor movement.

With the arrest and imprisonment of the 18 leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters Union the capitalist rulers once more junked the constitution on which the government is supposed to exist. They threw away the most elementary democratic rights of the working class — freedom of speech, press and assembly. Their primary objective, once again, was to serve notice to the American people that opposition to their profit-war would be paid for with jail.

The first casualty in a capitalist war, said Jim Cannon, is always the truth. In his farewell speech before going to prison, he said, **"In this time when the people of the world, and the people of America among them, needed one thing more than anything else — to know the truth — they were fed on lies. All those in public life, all the political parties, all the preachers, priests and rabbis, the intellectuals who had promised to instruct and educate and inform the youth—they all betrayed the people of America.**

VINCENT DUNNE

FARRELL DOBBS

They sold them out and went over to the camp of the liars and deceivers. Our party alone did not betray, did not sell out. We Trotskyists told the truth. That is the reason, and the only reason we are on our way to prison. We obeyed the first commandment in the decalogue of Trotskyism which reads: 'Thou shalt not lie.'"

The propagandists of the capitalist class drew a picture of universal freedom, self-determination of nations and world peace for humanity. Newspapers and magazines were filled with stories of the beautiful life that would be in store once the victory was won.

But again — the beautiful fruit that was offered turned out to be made of polished wax. The war ended, not in peace and freedom, but with a new and more terrible war on the horizon —as the imprisoned Trotskyists had forecast. The witchhunt brought the torment of stool-pigeons, police spies, snooping, prying and persecution to the American people.

All the terror and destruction that the capitalist world is ready to unleash on humanity, however, will not stop the march of the working class to power. The devotion of Debs and the SWP leaders to the socialist cause will be its inspiration.

Fund Scoreboard

City	Quota	Paid	Percent
Seattle	$ 200.00	55.00	28
Buffalo	1,760.00	300.00	23
New York	3,520.00	675.00	19
San Francisco	800.00	102.00	13
Los Angeles	3,300.00	336.50	10
Oakland	300.00	30.00	10
Newark	200.00	6.00	6
Philadelphia	440.00	17.00	4
Twin Cities	1,320.00	50.00	4
Akron	140.00	0	0
Allentown	85.00	0	0
Boston	500.00	0	0
Chicago	1,760.00	0	0
Cleveland	350.00	0	0
Detroit	825.00	0	0
Milwaukee	250.00	0	0
Pittsburgh	100.00	0	0
St. Louis	85.00	0	0
Youngstown	250.00	0	0
Total through Oct. 25	$16,185.00	$1,571.50	9

...Socialist Publications Fund

(Continued from page 1)

writings and speeches of James P. Cannon, veteran revolutionist who founded the Socialist Workers Party, and many others.

Those cities on the scoreboard (see page two) that appear in darker print are on or ahead of schedule in sending their contributions to the Fund. Seattle is at the head of the list with 28% of its quota in. Buffalo is second and New York City came in third. **Only those contributions that arrive by Tuesday of each week are recorded in the current scoreboard.**

The Fund supporters in Seattle reflect the enthusiasm for the publication and press program that is felt by all Militant readers. They rejected a proposed contribution of $175 and insisted that they could raise $200. Clara Kaye writes, "I am happy to inform you that we really believe we can raise the $200 without too much difficulty. The prospect of publishing Cannon's works has everybody excited, not to mention the other proposed publications."

Pearl Spangler writes from Philadelphia, "Seventeen dollars were collected last Sunday for the Fund. Although the sum isn't overwhelming we are off to a good start. Everyone is serious. It is said that the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Well, the following night a friend called up and pledged $25 and later placed five of it on the table. It is yet too soon to say whether we'll be 100% by the end of the first month, but one thing is certain we'll be 100% and more by the end of the campaign."

Howard Mayhew writes from Chicago that they want to increase their quota 10% to $1760.

New York City deserves special congratulations. Despite its large quota, it met 19% of its obligation in the first two weeks of the Fund Campaign.

Readers of the Militant who want to join in the realization of this vital publications program should send their contributions to: The Socialist Publication and Press Fund, 116 University Pl., New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT ARMY

The reports this week speak eloquently for themselves so we turn to them at once.

Mary Black, Buffalo: "We started the sub campaign with a door - to - door mobilization on the Till issue of the Militant, 200 copies being sold very easily. In the process a few people promised to take subs. We are very enthusiastic about our results and looking forward to going out again."

Merle Benjamin, Cleveland: "On Saturday I sold 100 papers in about three hours, as a special. Then on a regular corner 20 papers were sold. Sunday afternoon **Jean Simon** and I sold 212 papers at the NAACP meeting."

Paul Rollant, Milwaukee: "At a recent Emmett Till Protest meeting **Bob Crane** and **Bea Andrews** sold out all the Militants they had with them in a few minutes. The enclosed sub was obtained by Bea and myself while visiting past subscribers."

Allen Winters, Detroit: "The enclosed subs are just a beginning . . . We sold nearly 500 copies of issue No. 40. **Bea Allen, Edith Marshall** and a friend sold 69 papers in a shopping area for a large mixed community. **Bill Fredericks** sold 20 in a mixed housing project and he and **Dotty Lessing** sold 100 copies on main street of the largest Negro slum area in Detroit. **Tom Johnson** and **Edith** sold 48 on the same street as well as 48 more in a Negro housing project. On Sunday **Ed Hamilton** and **John Collins** sold a few at a Ford Local 600 unit meeting, then sold 37 at a Negro church. **Patricia Stall, Bob Himmel** sold 53 and **Paul Munson, Edith Black** and **Al Winters** sold 54 at other Negro churches."

Milton Alvin, Los Angeles: "Our salespeople disposed of 750 copies of the special issue of the Militant on the Mississippi lynch-murder of Emmett Till and 50 pamphlets on the Trumbull case. Everything was sold from 1:30 to 3:30 P.M. The meeting began at 3:00. We included a sub blank and interest slip plus a leaflet for our forum series in each paper. Everyone is feeling good over the fine sale which was very well organized and carried out." Lea Hill adds: "We could have sold 500 more. **Betty Rohlson** was high scorer with 90, the average about 50. All this occurred at the NAACP mass meeting to protest the Till murder."

Dan Roberts, Newark: "Last Sunday **Joe Harris** and **John Wilkinson** sold 16 single copies door to door in the Hayes project. In the afternoon **Raymond Dawson, Gladys Barker** and **Dan Roberts** sold 20 copies at a NAACP Youth rally to protest the Till murder."

Sue Stevens, Oakland: "We are selling our bundle every week without trouble. By building routes in different parts of the city we hope soon to increase the size of the bundle . . . At the Till mass protest meeting (apparently sponsored by the Stalinists) where Mrs. Bradley was supposed to appear but didn't, we sold everything we had — about 150 papers. The fact is that we did not have enough papers."

George Clement, Philadelphia: "Eight of us went into a large housing project where we have been working the past few weeks. In about an hour we sold 56 single copies, a couple of subs and some pamphlets. They were obtained by **Pearl Spangler,** and **Clara Raymond** was the scorer in single sales with 16. From the project we went to the NAACP protest meeting. Here the high scorers were **Ethel Peterson,** 54 copies, **Betty Shelton** with 48 and **Jan Conner** with 42."

Helen Baker, Seattle: "Due to a rash of illness we did not get a very good start in the sub campaign. Along with a sub here are two FI subs. But between car trouble and sickness at the beginning, we should wind up in a wave of glory. **Frank Powers, Ann Martin** and I had the pleasure of selling 70 copies in a brief time. Frank sold thirteen in his shop. One reader told him that not only did his wife and entire family read it, but it had passed around among all the neighbors. Ann and I sold on the street as people were coming from work between 5:15 and 5:30. We averaged a sale a minute, better than we had ever done before."

Highlights of Debs' Life

Nov. 5, 1855—Born in Terre Haute, Indiana.

1870 — Quits school, goes to work for railroad.

1873—Great depression begins. Debs rides freights looking for work.

1874 — Has job as clerk for wholesale grocer in Terre Haute but helps form local of Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen (BLF). Is elected local secretary.

1879 — Is nominated for City Clerk by Democrats; elected.

1880 — The almost-bankrupt BLF drafts its hardest working local secretary to be national secretary-treasurer and editor of the union magazine. Union's national office moved to Terre Haute where Debs and his family do the union work in addition to their other jobs.

1882—Membership quadrupled. Union out of debt. Although Debs agrees with BLF's no-strike views and considers the newly-formed AFL radical, he helps Terre Haute workers from AFL locals; also helps less-skilled rail workers form their own brotherhoods.

1884—Full time for BLF now. Travels all over U.S., often by freight car, organizing new locals. Helps organize switchmen and carmen into unions.

1885—Elected to Indiana legislature on Democratic ticket. Fails to get law passed making railroad companies compensate rail workers injured in course of work; breaks with fellow Democrats to vote to abolish all distinctions of race or color in state laws, again, to vote for woman suffrage. Both bills defeated. Disgusted, decides not to run for reelection.

1885 — Marries Kate Metzel, Terre Haute girl, who will be his life-long comrade and companion.

1886 — AFL calls strikes and demonstrations on May 1 for eight hour day. The Haymarket bomb frame-up. Labor militancy affects the BLF which junks the no-strike position and all its officers save Debs and one other.

1889—Debs succeeds in federating a number of the brotherhoods. In one year, without a strike, federation wins every grievance it takes up.

1891 — Craft-union jealousy destroys the federation. One craft conspires with company in job raids against another craft union.

1892 — Disgusted with craft unionism, Debs decides to quit job and start a national labor newspaper. BLF convention refuses his resignation for three days. Compromise reached. Can quit as secretary-treasurer but must stay on as editor of the magazine in which he can print his views. He refuses money gifts voted him and accepts as editor's pay only one-third of what the convention offered.

1893 — Big Business offensive against workers. Steel union smashed by strikebreakers and troops at Homestead, Pa. Miners' union smashed at Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, by strikebreakers and federal troops. Depression spreads over U.S. Railroads begin wage cuts; brotherhoods, unable to stand up to boss offensive, dwindle in size.

June 20, 1893—The American Railway Union (ARU) founded. The companies, brotherhood officials and AFL head, Gompers, openly hostile to ARU. Rail workers flock to join.

April 13, 1894 — Workers of the Great Northern RR, who had three wage cuts in less than a year, demand robber baron Jim Hill negotiate with the ARU. He refuses, strike begins. Nine thousand men out 100% for 18 days. Hill surrenders. As Debs leaves St. Paul both sides of track are lined with rail workers standing bareheaded in tribute to him.

June 12, 1894—One year after its founding, the ARU, which began without money and with only three fulltime organizers, has 465 locals and 150,000 members. The combined brotherhoods only claim 90,000 members, while the whole AFL has only 75,000.

June 15, 1894—Spokesmen for the Pullman strikers appeal to the ARU convention for help. Wage cuts have reduced the Pullman workers to near starvation.

June 28, 1894 — 125,000 railroaders are out on strike. Big Business, which is smashing unions all over the country in its open-shop drive, conspires with government to smash the ARU. Armies of strikebreakers are hired from the unemployed. Press screams about "Dictator Debs."

July 2, 1894—Democratic U.S. Attorney General Olney, a former director of numerous railroads, arranges for a federal judge who has received lavish favors from the railroads, to issue an injunction. Democratic President Cleveland orders the U.S. army to preserve "law and order" in the Chicago rail yards. Federal marshals deputize strikebreakers and with the troops they attack the strikers.

July 20, 1894 — Strike broken, ARU smashed, the leaders jailed.

Jan. 1895—Jury won't convict Debs and other ARU leaders for conspiracy; so judge sentences them for contempt.

1895 — The labor prisoners organize study classes. Debs becomes convinced of socialism.

Nov. 22, 1895 — Debs released from prison. Ten thousand come to Woodstock prison to greet him; 100,000 workers turn out to hail him in Chicago.

Jan. 1, 1897 — Debs publishes manifesto beginning: "The issue is Socialism versus Capitalism. I am for Socialism because I am for humanity."

June 1898 — Founds Social Democratic Party; Debs tours country explaining its purpose and selling subs to its newspaper; denounces Spanish-American War as national murder for markets and colonies.

1900 — Social Democratic Party runs Debs for president; gets 98,000 votes; name changed to Socialist Party.

1904 — Deb's second campaign for president. Speaks to 250,000 people from Maine to Oregon. Receives 420,000 votes.

June 27, 1905 — Helps launch the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

1906 — Western mining interests begin frame-up of union leaders. Haywood, Moyer, St. John and Pettibone being rushed to execution in Idaho. Debs publishes manifesto: "There have been 20 years of revolutionary education, agitation and organization since the Haymarket tragedy, and if an attempt is made to repeat it, there will be a revolution and I will do all in my power to precipitate it . . . If they attempt to murder Moyer, Haywood and their brothers, a million revolutionists, at least, will meet them with guns . . . A special revolutionary convention of the proletariat at Chicago, or some other central point, would be in order, and if extreme measures are required, a general strike could be ordered and industry paralysed as a preliminary to a general uprising."

Aug. 1907 — Haywood and others acquitted.

1908—Runs again for president; the "Red Special" campaign train tours the country. For 65 days running Debs speaks from five to 20 times a day. Tour climaxes in New York with largest political meeting city has ever seen. Yet socialist vote does not increase—still 420,000.

1909—U.S. Post Office tries to suppress the main socialist paper, Appeal to Reason. Debs tours to arouse workers and to raise money.

1912—Debs polls 897,000 votes for president.

1914—Imperialist World War looms in Europe. Socialist Party draws up anti-war manifesto. Wilson sends U.S. troops to intervene in Mexican Revolution; Debs denounces this as favor to Standard Oil Co. and demands withdrawal.

1916 — Debs refuses Socialist nomination on grounds of health; Allen Benson, socialist writer is nominee; Debs campaigns for ticket, and the anti-war platform. Socialist vote drops to 585,000.

April 7, 1917—One day after U.S. enters war, an emergency convention of the Socialist Party begins in St. Louis; adopts resolution reaffirming "unalterable opposition" to the war. But right wing leaders of party are becoming social patriots; government persecution begins.

November 1917 — Bolsheviks lead workers' revolution in Russia. U.S. capitalists, frightened, increase persecution of socialists. Thousands of IWW members and anti-war socialists arrested. Debs decides on anti-war tour.

June 1918—At Canton, Ohio, he told reporters "the Bolsheviks of Russia were the inspiration of the world and that he hoped their ideas would come to prevail in America." Then makes speech; soon is indicted under Espionage Act.

Sept. 1918 — Sentenced to ten years imprisonment.

1920—The Socialist Party nominates Prisoner 9653 in Atlanta Penitentiary for President; receives 918,000 votes.

1921—Growing amnesty movement for Debs and other political prisoners causes President Harding to release him on Dec. 26.

1922—Debs' health so bad he must go to sanitarium.

1924—Socialist Party supports Progressive Lafollette for president. Socialist Party disintegrates.

Oct. 20, 1926 Debs dies a few weeks short of age of 71.

The Great Socialist Propagandist

...The Heritage of Eugene Debs

(Continued from page 1)

formation of a working class party.

THE TEST OF WAR

When already in his sixties Debs passed the acid test for revolutionaries — the test of war and revolution. From the outset of World War I he aligned himself with the small wing in every socialist party throughout the world that remained true to the internationalist outlook.

Lenin and Trotsky in the Russian party, Liebknecht and Luxemburg imprisoned in Germany — these were his comrades in arms. Along with them he denounced those "socialists" who supported their respective governments involved in the blood bath.

When U. S. imperialism entered the war he condemned the move and sharply attacked those leaders of the Socialist Party that endorsed it. He declared that he could not square it with his conscience if he remained free while hundreds of IWW members and left-wing socialists were in prison for anti-war agitation. Debs then began the speaking tour against the war which led to his arrest, trial and conviction for "sedition" under the Espionage Act in Cleveland in 1918.

He hailed the Russian Revolution of October 1917, explained its historic significance to the working class and never ceased supporting the Soviet Union to the day of his death in 1926.

Reviewing Deb's long and painful search for the genuine answer to capitalist exploitation, Ray Ginger — his most recent and best biographer — says: "He never deserted a possible solution until he became convinced that it had failed." That is true.

All the more stanchly did Debs cling to the program of revolutionary socialism once experience had taught him that it was the only way to end the misery which capitalism imposes on the working class.

And the fake Socialists and Stalinists think they can cut this away from his heritage and bury it!

Millions of workers in the coming years will travel the road Debs did towards revolutionary socialism. Like Debs they will learn from their experiences, testing and rejecting false solutions until it becomes clear to them that the revolutionary road is the only way.

But they will arrive far more swiftly than Debs did to the same conclusions, because he has already paved the way. The lessons he learned and taught plus the teachings of other giants of the international socialist movement is a living force today in the program and activity of the Socialist Workers Party. This alone assures that the heritage of Debs will play its role in the shaping of a socialist America.

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The Geneva Spirit

The foreign ministers of the "Big Four" powers — the U.S., the Soviet Union, England and France — will meet in Geneva on Oct. 27. This meeting flows out of last July's meeting of the "Big Four" heads of state.

Last summer's Geneva Conference formalized a relaxation of the cold war that had been under way since the close of the Korean war. The conference produced no tangible agreements but created the so-called "Geneva spirit" whose main ingredients were declarations of peaceful intentions by President Eisenhower and Soviet Premier Bulganin's statement that he respected these declarations as "sincere."

The "Geneva spirit" has been hailed both by Stalinists and representatives of U.S. imperialism as opening a new epoch in which peaceful settlement of outstanding conflicts of interest between the U.S. government and the Soviet Union has supposedly become possible.

The agents of the Wall Street warmakers, it is true, warn against the alleged "danger" that the Soviet leaders might be using the "Geneva spirit" to disguise their "aims" to communize the world.

The Stalinists, in turn, urge the creation in the U.S. and Western Europe of "popular front" governments in order to "enforce the Geneva spirit." These would be governments formed through coalition of the working class movements with supposedly "peace-loving" sections of the capitalist class. In the U.S., for instance, the Stalinists endorse the labor-Democratic Party coalition and urge the labor leaders to work for realizing the "Geneva spirit" within it.

Despite the public displays of mutual distrust by both sides, however, the foreign ministers' conference will in all likelihood reaffirm the "Geneva spirit" even if it arrives at no further tangible agreements.

For U.S. imperialism is not ready to resume its open drive to war. It was blocked in this course by the upsurge of the colonial revolution — especially by the realization of a new workers' state in China. In addition the achievements of production by the Soviet bloc and its development of the H-bomb established a temporary military balance of power.

In the light of these developments U.S. Big Business decided to make more thorough war preparations and to mask them behind a seeming desire to affect a peaceful settlement of the cold war.

The colonial movement is still on the rise as witness the heroic struggles of the peoples in the French North African colonies to achieve their national independence. These struggles have thrown France into a crisis that will take on revolutionary scope in the period ahead. This serves to slow down the U.S. government's time-table for war even further.

The Kremlin overlords, for their part, still offer to betray working class and colonial struggles under their leadership to Wall Street in order to get a formal status-quo deal from imperialism. They agreed to underwrite the "Geneva spirit" hoax last July in pursuit of such a bargain and are ready to continue the hoax at the foreign minister's conference.

In the meantime, as Myra Tanner explained in the Oct. 24 Militant, U.S. imperialism is pushing ahead with its now longer-term war preparations behind the screen of the "Geneva spirit."

West Germany and Japan are being rearmed. The U.S. Defense Department is trying to indoctrinate the U.S. youth into acceptance of permanent militarization, and ever more devastating H-bombs and other weapons capable of annihilating mankind are being developed.

The working class struggle for socialism — and not the hoax of the "Geneva spirit" — remains the only road to lasting peace.

"The Greatest Thing in History"

Little by little the facts about the dropping of the first atomic bomb come to light. First we had the revelations of Winston Churchill's memoirs. Now we have the boasting of former president Harry Truman who was directly responsible for the gigantic crimes of the American imperialist madmen.

Truman tells the "success story" of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki mass murders in his memoirs, published in Life. The atomic age was officially opened when a U.S. plane carried out its assignment over Hiroshima. A city was laid waste with 60,000 men, women and children delivered into radioactive death, 100,000 wounded and 200,000 homeless.

Truman received the news on board ship as he returned from Potsdam: "Results clear cut successful in all respects. Visible effects greater than in any test. Conditions normal in airplane following delivery."

Truman reacted: "I was greatly moved. I telephoned (Secretary of State) Byrnes aboard ship to give him the news, and then said to the group of sailors around me, 'This is the greatest thing in history. It's time for use to get home.'"

This was Truman's big historic moment. And he wants to make clear in his memoirs that the responsibility was his: "The final decision of where and when to use the atomic bomb was up to me. Let there be no mistake about it."

Of course Truman claims he was proceeding strictly according to the rules of the game. He says, "In deciding to use this bomb, I wanted to make sure that it would be used as a weapon of war in the manner prescribed by the laws of war."

What "laws of war" is Truman talking about? The agreements that imperialist-gentlemen reached in Geneva to keep the slaughter humane? No "laws of war" ever took into account nuclear destruction. The atom bomb wasn't even born until three weeks before it was dropped on Hiroshima. And that wasn't enough time to even scientifically assess the results of the New Mexico test.

"Four cities were finally recommended as targets," Truman relates, "Hiroshima, Kokura, Nagasaki and Nigata. They were listed in that order as targets for the first attack." Then Truman goes on: "The wheels were set in motion for the first use of an atomic weapon against a military target. I had made the decision."

The second A-bomb was dropped three days later on Aug. 9. Why were the people of Nagasaki destroyed instead of Kokura, the second on the list? (This account must read like a blood-curdling nightmare to the people of Japan.) "By the time Kokura was reached," Truman writes, "the weather had closed in, and after three runs over the spot without a glimpse of the target, with gas running short, a try was made for . . . Nagasaki. There too the weather had closed in, but an opening in the clouds gave the bombardier his chance, and Nagasaki was successfully bombed."

A low ceiling — and hundreds of thousands could continue to live. An opening in the clouds — and man-made death never seen on such a scale in history.

Truman explained that he unleashed all this horror in order to obtain a quick victory — the saving of life.

This is a lie. The Japanese militarists had already sued for peace the previous month through the then-neutral Soviet Union. On July 28, at the Potsdam conference Stalin reported that thirteen days earlier the representatives of Japan asked the Soviet Union to seek negotiations for peace.

Then Truman reports: "Stalin declared the answer would be in the negative. I thanked Marshal Stalin. I then opened the meeting for business."

Truman, Stalin and Attlee refused to even discuss the question of a negotiated peace although they were certainly in a position to dictate terms.

Were there no military alternatives to the horror of nuclear destruction? The Japanese were struck by the A-bomb without even knowing what hit them. The Japanese militarists had already been beaten on the sea. Their German ally was destroyed and the full military weight of the U.S. and its allies could now be brought down on Japan.

And why the second bomb — delivered before the people of Japan had even had time to figure out what happened? Was the Pentagon afraid that a delay in the Emperor's capitulation might lead to a Japanese uprising?

The reason why the A-bomb was dropped on Japan can be found only in the long-range imperialist plans of Wall Street. The capitalist rulers of the United States were already plotting the Third World War — this time against the Soviet Union. They saw the great colonial upsurge that was at hand and would soon rob them of the chief prize in Asia — China. They wanted a demonstration of their new power of destruction as a warning to all who did not submit to the mighty American dollar.

If Truman's role in the dropping of atomic bombs on populated cities was monstrous, what is there to say for Stalin, who, according to the Communist Party, represented a "socialist" state? Coexistence with imperialism during World War II meant to the Kremlin going hand-in-hand with imperialists in the grab for booty.

Stalin and the whole Kremlin bureaucracy shared with Truman the brutal indifference to the fate of the Japanese people. For this crime the bureaucracy will also be brought before the bar of revolutionary justice — along with the imperialists.

What Next for the Independent Group in the Progressive Party?

By Harry Ring

Clifford T. McAvoy, a leading figure in the American Labor Party, has appealed to the supporters of the Progressive Party to retain their independence from the two major parties. His declaration is published in the letters column of the Oct. 10 issue of the Progressive Party weekly, the National Guardian.

The letter scores the supporters of the "coalition theory" in the ALP who deserted their own candidates to help elect Mayor Wagner in 1953 and Governor Harriman in 1954. Citing the record of both men as fresh proof of the bankruptcy of the "lesser evil" theory, McAvoy calls for a rejection of the policy of "enrolling in or dabbling in the internal politics of the machine parties now or in 1956."

"Let us have an end now," McAvoy declares, "to coalition on any basis with advocates of cold war, enemies of labor and the Bill of Rights, friends of Jim Crow."

The unnamed supporters of "coalition" are of course the Communist Party and its allies who have waged an unremitting campaign to reestablish their unholy alliance with the union officialdom and the capitalist politicians of the Democratic party.

The Stalinist drive to herd the Progressive Party membership into the Democratic party has been carried on systematically since 1952. It was formalized in a "Draft Program" published in March, 1954, which announced that "The key to the crucial 1954 and 1956 elections lies in the ability of the organized labor movement to come forward as a distinct political force within the two-party system."

Reluctant to accept this line, the editors of the Guardian, on Jan. 10, 1955, issued a call for a "national independent political party on the ballot in the 1956 elections." **They proposed that a conference to launch such a party be held in the mid-west during Labor Day week, 1955. The call evoked a sharp scolding from the Stalinists in the April, 1955 issue of Political Affairs. The date for the proposed conference has passed without further notice from the Guardian.**

Meanwhile the Stalinists, who control the ALP machinery, have spelled out and established their policy in definitive fashion. Immediately prior to electoral registration in New York, ALP state committee members toured the branches with a blunt directive for the ranks to enroll in the Democratic party. The capitulation of the Guardian gave objective aid to the Stalinists in putting over their line.

The substantial number of individuals in the ALP who back McAvoy's persistent opposition to support of the capitalist parties are now squarely faced with the question, "What next?"

The working out of a clear and meaningful answer to this question is essential if the remaining partisans of independent politics in the Progressive Party are to escape the alternative of capitulating to the Stalinists or simply throwing in the towel in demoralized resignation.

It is necessary for them to re-evaluate the entire past course and to re-examine fundamental questions. Precisely what is an independent party and an independent program? The success of the Stalinists in accomplishing their liquidationist perspective against wide opposition flowed in large measure from the fact that correct answers to these questions have never been clearly presented in the ALP or Progressive Party.

The first fact to be recorded is the consistently treacherous role of the Stalinists in both the ALP and Progressive Party. For them independent politics was never anything more than a necessary tactic within their fundamental perspective of "coalition" with the Democratic party. That has been their unswerving aim since the "Peoples Front" days of the Thirties and it was their basic premise when they helped organize the ALP in 1936.

This shameful fact has been openly admitted by the Stalinists themselves. In Political Affairs of May, 1954, one John Swift explains that the ALP was so organized that it "enabled the independent voters in New York to form a new party without thereby endangering the election of those major party candidates who in their eyes still deserved support. In practice this perfomed the function of delivering an even larger vote to the Democratic Party presidential, state and congressional tickets."

In the Political Affairs polemic against the Guardian call, the same John Swift demagogically employs half-truths and pseudo-Marxist formulations to justify a course that collides with the most elementary concept of Marxism, a course of leading workers across the class line in support of capitalist politicians.

After flaying the programmatic hodge-podge of the Guardian call, which he easily demonstrates was neither a full socialist program, nor an effective minimum one, he demands to know where are the masses necessary for such a movement. With an unusually convenient memory for history (he didn't think of this point in 1948 when the Stalinists organized the Progressive Party) Swift sternly admonishes the Guardian that a third party movement can succeed only if it is solidly based on the trade unions.

But all of this is intended as a lesson in stoicism. There isn't any "sense in gnashing our teeth in impotent rage at the treasonable role of the labor officialdom which plays no small part in keeping labor tied to Big Business politics." What to do about it? His answer boils down to the tested Tammany Hall formula, "If you can't lick 'em, join 'em." And all of this in the name of Marxism and building a labor party "eventually."

The Guardian call certainly left itself wide open — both on program and the content of its "independence." Its basic programmatic point is the Stalinist panacea of "peaceful coexistence." The adoption in large measure of that "program" by the Eisenhower administration kicked a big prop from under the Guardian call. The "independent role" proposed by the Guardian was in all fundamentals a fiction.

Genuine political independence is a reality only if it is class independence. Only the working class has the power to eliminate capitalism. It can and must win great support from other classes as it discharges that historically imposed obligation, but it cannot share that responsibility in the sense of abandoning its objective for the sake of "coalition" with other classes. Working class independence receives expression only through an independent class program, an independent class formation.

Such a program is indispensable, and it cannot consist of a series of improvisations. What is needed is the scientific program of Marxian socialism. It is the task of fighters for working-class emancipation to take that program and effectively translate it into the language of the workers movement at its given level of consciousness. It must be done in terms of continuously pressing immediate issues in such a way as to raise the level of working class consciousness to the point where the fight for a workers and farmers government will be on the order of the day.

The key task today is to assemble a cadre of fighters, bound together by a clearly defined socialist program, to enter the arena of the workers movement in struggle against the labor bureaucrats, the Stalinists and everyone else who would keep the union ranks chained to the Democratic party.

In the 1956 elections there will be one genuinely independent ticket in the field, that of the Socialist Workers Party. This party will militantly advocate an anti-capitalist, anti-war and anti-witch hunt program. The focal point of its campaign will be the urgent need for the merged union movement to build an independent labor party. Such a campaign will contribute materially to the developing class-consciousness of the American workers.

More Flood Victims

Residents of Norwalk, Conn., seek shelter in high ground after three-day "nor'easter" drove them from their homes. Flood cut off electricity and damaged factories and office buildings. This is the second flood that hit this area in two months. Of the $35 millions allocated for flood prevention only $5,780,000 has been used.

VETERAN RAIL UNIONIST HONORS DEBS' MEMORY

Editor:

As one who spent 49 years in a locomotive cab in all classes of service, it is quite natural that I should take an attitude of keen interest and approval toward the 100th anniversary celebration of the birth of Eugene V. Debs. During most of that time I have been an advocate of the very structural and programmatic changes in railroad unionism to which Debs devoted a big part of his active and turbulent life.

Anomalously enough, Debs entered the rail union movement as a billing clerk for a wholesale grocery firm after having quit his job as locomotive fireman the previous year, and he never again entered the railroad service. He was admitted as a charter member of Vigo Lodge, number 16, Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen at Terre Haute, Indiana, on February 27, 1875, and was the first recording secretary of that lodge.

The B. of L. F. was launched in December 1873, and when Debs joined the infant organization it was struggling for its very existence. Debs threw his full, boundless energy and natural ability into the task of building the union against all the unlimited obstacles confronting it, and soon he rose to become the editor of the B. of L. F. Magazine as well as Secretary-Treasurer of the organization. The union headquarters was moved to Terre Haute to enable Debs to handle both jobs.

Debs was without doubt the greatest rail unionist that this country has ever produced. He played a leading role in the formation of the ARU (American Railway Union) in 1894 to unite the railroad workers into one industrial organization. This plan was defeated by the combined efforts of the craft union bureaucrats, the railroad companies and the corporation-controlled government. In 1905 he again tried to reach the objective of industrial form of organization when he helped organize the IWW.

Through all this experience on the industrial field he learnt the necessity for workers' organization on the political field, and this in turn led him into the Socialist Party, to his opposition to World War I, and into the Federal Prison at Atlanta. He also had previous jail experience at Woodstock, Illinois, for his role as strike leader for the railroad workers.

But trials and prison doors never swerved Debs from his goal of better things for those who toil at productive labor. And whilst the labor bureaucracy, particularly on the railroads, have tried to bury his name and his great work — to cover up their own bankruptcy as leaders of labor — the memory of Eugene V. Debs continues to shine through the mist of time.

C. R. Hedlund
Minneapolis, Minn.

STRONG OPPOSITION EVIDENT AT CANADIAN AFL MEETING

VANCOUVER, B. C., Oct. 15 — A growing opposition from the local officer level was heard at the recent British Columbia provincial convention of Trade and Labor Congress (AFL) affiliates. This convention is the last before the merger of the TLC-AFL unions with the Canadian Congress of Labor (CIO) unions. Thus the rank and file opposition to the bureaucracy developed to its sharpest point around issues involving the unification of Canada's two union congresses.

The delegates had their say on the CCL-TLC Unity Committee's proposal that the merged body, instead of meeting yearly as the congresses did separately, should meet every other year with a General Board of top brass handling affairs between conventions. The delegates voted overwhelmingly for annual conventions of the Canadian Labour Congress. At the same time they voted that, contrary to the Unity Committee's proposals, only credentialed delegates be eligible for office in the merged congress.

INCLUDE ALL UNIONS

The right wing mobilized all possible forces to defeat a resolution from the Ocean Falls local of the International Pulp and Sulphite Workers Union. This resolution took up the top brass on its declarations of the need and great benefits that would derive from the unification of organized labor, and urged that the unification be extended to encompass all "bona fide unions." **This, of course, meant the readmission of the thousands of workers in the Stalinist-led Mine Mill and Smelters Union, the United Electrical Workers, the Vancouver Municipal Employees local, etc., who were brutally expelled by the trade union bureaucracy's extension of the boss' cold war into the labor movement.**

Through a series of technicalities the right wing attempted first, to rule the resolution out of order, and, failing this, to get it lost in committee. All their attempts were frustrated when about 20 resolutions that had not appeared on the order paper hit the floor. Among these resolutions was one from the Port Alberni Painters urging amendment of the constitution of the merged congress to admit all bona fide unions.

The right wing challenged the chair's ruling that the resolution was in order but was defeated 55 to 59. The debate was sharp and tense. R. K. Gervin, secretary of the congress since its foundation, subsequently stated that he had anticipated a "red" attack on the TLC. In actuality there were only three known Stalinists in what the press called the "self styled progressive element." Outside of them, all the supporters of the Port Alberni resolution voiced political opposition to Stalinism and were for the most part Pulp and Sulphite worker delegates, CCFers (members of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, an independent party based on labor) who approached the question from the point of view of trade union democracy.

RANK AND FILE WIN

The rank and file swept through the elections to take all posts but one. R. K. Gervin who had built himself up as a real power, particularly in the Vancouver area, to the extent that no delegate from Vancouver could be found to nominate a candidate against him, went down to defeat as secretary of the congress. Now the Street Railwaymen are intending to change their own by-laws to provide for election of all delegates to the Vancouver Labor Council.

This means that Gervin will have to stand for election in his own local—a local that voted solidly against him and actually ran a man to defeat him. If Gervin loses this paid job on the Vancouver council he will have to fall back on his many business ventures to continue to live in the manner he is accustomed.

World Events

SAARLANDERS voted more than two to one against a measure putting the Saar under control of the European Union — a military alliance of Western imperialism. The referendum brought out 96.5% of the voters. The measure would have permanently placed the coal and steel producing region within the French customs and monetary zones. The Saar now is an autonomous region whose economy is annexed to that of France. However, the Saarlanders are German and desire reunification with Germany from which they were torn after World War II.

* * *

SOUTH VIETNAMESE Premier Diem staged a referendum on Oct. 24 to determine whether he or Bao Dai, French puppet Chief of State enjoyed the confidence of the South Vietnamese people. Diem, a former French puppet, overthrew Bao Dai's rule last Spring and lined up with U.S. imperialism. In the balloting, Diem claimed to receive 98.4% of the vote. According to the Oct. 24 N. Y. Times, "tens of thousands of South Vietnamese went to the polls." The Times also reveals, however, that 5,335,688 men and women over the age of 18 were eligible to vote. Even observers for the capitalist press agree that a huge majority of the South Vietnamese prefer unity with the North Vietnam regime to the rule of either a French or U.S. puppet.

* * *

A GERMAN RETURNEE from a Soviet prison camp in the Siberian Arctic Coast reports that 30,000 prisoners there waged a two months strike beginning June 1953 (presumably following the East German rising.) This returnee, Johann Distl, says that Soviet guards fired into the ranks of the strikers (called by the Oct. 22 Christian Science Monitor "the rioting mobs") and there were many casualties. However, as a result of the struggle, work hours were cut from ten to eight, the food improved and foreign prisoners were permitted to write home.

* * *

"THE ARAB NATIONALISTS in North Africa are rapidly dividing into two hostile camps: those who oppose any understanding with the French and those who favor cooperation with the French," reports Michael Clark from Algiers in the Oct. 24 N.Y. Times. The militant nationalists have Egypt's backing and Clark refers to them as the "Cairo faction."

* * *

IN ARGENTINA, the Lonardi government restored to the Catholic Church all privileges it lost during the last period of Peron's rule. Catholic property is again exempt from taxation, subsidies to Catholic schools have been restored and priests and nuns have been reinstated to service in hospitals, schools and prisons. A TV interview broadcast to the U.S. on Oct. 23, announced a "regime of austerity."

* * *

DIVISION IN THE BRITISH LABOR PARTY between right and left wings deepened at the annual Margate Conference last week. The main task before the gathering was to frame a new program and pass upon a plan for re-making the party's electoral machinery. But the conference never got down to either task. Instead the session was spent in bitter conflict. Aneurin Bevan, leader of the left-wing, attacked the right-wing leaders as timid socialists and demanded extension of national ownership of industry until it would "dominate the rest of the economy."

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

The Life and Work Of Eugene V. Debs
Friday, Nov. 4, at 8. P. M.

Race Relations In Detroit Today
Friday, Nov. 11, at 8 P. M.

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Classical Philosophy And the Philosophy Of Class Struggle
Speaker: John G. Wright
Militant Staff Writer
Sunday, Oct. 30, 7 P. M.

Eugene Debs and the Russian Revolution
In celebration of the 100th Anniversary of Debs' birth and the 38th Anniversary of the October Revolution
Sunday, Nov. 6, 7 P. M.

116 University Place

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XIX — MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1955 — NUMBER 44

The Negro Struggle

By George Lavan

Debs and the Negro Question

On the 100th anniversary of Eugene V. Debs' birth it is fitting and instructive to recall what he thought and said about the Negro struggle. The purest distillation of all that was militant and revolutionary in the American working class of his day. Debs early reached—as, if by instinct—a position of equal rights for the Negro people. It is significant that his life-long hero was John Brown, who liberals and milk-and-water socialists have come to regard as a madman or bloodthirsty fanatic.

From his travels in the South organizing unions, Debs understood the economic basis for the Jim Crow system and always told white workers how it profited Big Business bosses at their own expense. In later days when Debs was a famous lecturer and spoke in Southern cities, he always refused to address an audience if it was segregated. His personal relations with Negroes — Socialist comrades, trade unionists, friends, casual acquaintances — were marked by that deep love and respect for human dignity and equality that made his personality so unique. There was not the tiniest trace of chauvinism in Debs.

In answer to a letter warning that the Socialist Party would lose many votes if it insisted on equality for Negroes, Debs wrote a scathing reply in the International Socialist Review (Jan. 1904) declaring his party "would be false to its historic mission, violate the fundamental principles of socialism, deny its philosophy and repudiate its own teachings if, on account of race considerations, it sought to exclude any human beings from political and economic freedom."

Debs great shortcoming as a socialist leader was his lack of theoretical interest. He almost always reached the correct position on a question by his militant instinct. He left the theoretical problems to the book-learned socialists of the Milwaukee reformer type. Unfortunately these people, who claimed to know Marxism and overawed Debs with their talk, were not Marxists but revisers of Marxism — which is a revolutionary philosophy that was completely alien to their timid, careerist, middle-class minds and characters. (Their spiritual descendants are this week "commemorating" Debs with speeches picturing him not as a revolutionary socialist but just a picturesque and "saintly" character, who if he were alive today would be campaigning for liberal Democrats, as they are.)

Not a theoretician, Debs erred in not seeing that the Negro struggle for equality was a special struggle with its own dynamic and needs. He considered it as just part of labor's general fight. "We have nothing special to offer the Negro," he wrote, "and cannot make separate appeals to all the races. The Socialist Party is the party of the whole working class, regardless of color — the whole working class of the whole world." Despite the shortcomings of Debs' position, which failed to see that the Negro worker was not only exploited as a worker, but doubly exploited, and that all Negroes — regardless of class — were exploited on the basis of color, nevertheless it was far superior to the hardly-concealed prejudice of the right-wing leaders' "theoretical" approach. It remained for the revolutionary socialist movement of our day to unite Debs' instinctive militancy on the Negro struggle with Marxist theory.

Insecure Military Minds

By Joyce Cowley

In recent months, many of the policies of our military leaders have been sharply criticized. For example, there has been some question as to whether a fellow can inherit Communist tendencies from his mother-in-law or whether they are transmitted only through a blood relationship. Also, a lot of people didn't feel sure that torturing our draftees just for practice would inspire them with an unwavering patriotism and a sincere appreciation of American democratic ideals.

Anyone who thinks it's so easy to run the army and navy right has very little understanding of the complex yet delicate problems handled by our top brass. I always realized they had a big job but until I read a couple of recent news items, I had no idea how complicated this job could get.

Take the question of subversives, which sounds like a simple matter of tracking down Reds. A man may have to look for them in unlikely spots and it tests his ingenuity, but the main objective is clear. Now, according to the first news report I saw, security investigators are faced with an entirely new problem. A number of young men come right out and admit they are Communists! But army officials are not so easily misled. According to Army Secretary Brucker, these men are not really Communists, they are draft dodgers trying to avoid military service by claiming to be Communists.

This must be a little upsetting because to date no investigator ever tried to prove that a suspect was **not** a Communist. All the machinery is set up to prove that a guy is guilty of subversion, and now suddenly it has to go into reverse and prove that he **isn't** a Red, just a loyal American who doesn't like army life. I wonder if they check to find out if he has been associating with Republicans or if his mother belongs to the DAR. This is really a political threat and suggests the frightening possibility that thousands of young men who are not enthusiastic about military service — all of them with staunchly conservative ancestors and friends — may be converted to Communism.

The second news story was about sergeants. So many of them crack up mentally that the Army is making a special study to find out why. Lt. Col. Frederick A. Zehrer, who examined a lot of sergeants in psychiatric wards, finds they have "feelings of insecurity and anxiety in relation to the officer to whom they were responsible." To the average GI, sergeants probably don't seem anxious or insecure but psychologists tell us that a tough exterior may cover up weakness and fear. So the next time you face a nasty sergeant, just remember that he's scared, too.

In any case you can begin to see how difficult it is for military authorities to handle all these different problems and what a strain it must be for the Lieutenants, Colonels, Commanders, Generals, etc. After this surprising disclosure about the mental instability of Sergeants, I am beginning to wonder if the rest of the officers are normal. It may be that they, too, are anxious and insecure and I can suddenly visualize psychiatric wards with beds full of all the top brass. I suppose I am oversimplifying military problems, but I can't think of anything that would contribute more to the security of this country and defense of the real interests of American working people.

Notes from the News

MARRIED WOMEN SHOULD WORK because capable individuals feel frustrated when they cannot put their knowledge to work. This was the conclusion of Florence Kluckhorn of Harvard who was the principal speaker at the fourth annual family-life conference at Keuka College. She also claimed that this sense of frustration, along with the aftermath of "starry-eyed romance" creates a major cause of instability in many marriages. Society she added, should prefer a happy mother who is home half the time to an unhappy one who is there all day.

* * *

SMITH ACT VICTIM Jacob Mindel's plea for a parole was turned down by the Federal Parole Board on Sept. 26. Mindel, 74-years-old, is suffering from a heart condition. His daughter believes he cannot survive his prison term. Many pleas for his release have been made, including one from Bertrand Russell, the noted British philosopher.

* * *

A TOAST TO FRANCO was proposed by Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, the ace Catholic propagandist for the "free world." He said, "I ask you to drink to our friend, the leader of Spain who, from deep and intimate personal experience, I believe to be not only the most unselfish but one of the greatest, if not the greatest, heads of state in the world, with the exception of our own President." The occasion was a dinner organized by the American Friends of Spain.

* * *

ECONOMIC TERRORISTS. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has called on a number of national corporations to investigate reports that their distributors and franchise holders in parts of the South are participating in the economic squeeze on Negroes who have spoken out for school desegregation. Many Southern NAACP branches complain that their worker members are being fired, storekeepers are denied delivery of orders and consumers are refused credit. Corporations named in the complaints include: Standard Oil, Armstrong Rubber and Tire, Coca Cola, Pepsi Cola, Royal Crown Cola, the Southern distributor of Curtis Candy, and numerous others.

* * *

DR. BARROWS DUNHAM, former professor of philosophy at Temple University, in Philadelphia, was acquitted in Federal District Court of charges of contempt of Congress. When he was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in February, 1953, he gave his name and address but refused to answer any other questions, invoking the Fifth Amendment. The Committee recommended contempt charges, and shortly thereafter Professor Dunham was fired by the University.

* * *

PROTESTS against the loyalty questionnaire imposed by the New York State Insurance Dept. on all insurance agents applying for a license resulted in a discontinuance of the practice. Leffert Holz, State Insurance Superintendent, had required all applicants to swear that they did not belong to any organization on the Attorney General's subversive list. When the American Jewish Congress and the CIO Insurance Workers objected and the American Civil Liberties Union prepared to investigate, Holz discontinued the practice "pending further study."

Ohio Labor's Ballot Battle for Jobless Pay

By Jean Simon

CLEVELAND, Oct. 21 — For the first time in many years Ohio workers will have the opportunity to vote for something in their own interest in the Nov. 8 election.

As a result of the independent action of the CIO in securing some 140,000 signatures on initiative petitions, the voters have a chance to pass an improved unemployment compensation law which the last session of the legislature rejected.

All labor organizations (AFL, CIO, Railroad Brotherhoods and independent unions), the Ohio branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Ohio Consumers League, and all pro-labor groups are urging a "Yes" vote for Proposition No. 4.

The proposed law, as described on the official ballot "provides for increased weekly benefits, increased dependency allowances, increased duration of benefits, places the burden of proof on appellants, provides supplemental payments to claimants whose claims are delayed by the unreasonable action of employers, and provides that payments to a claimant under a guaranteed period wage plan shall not affect the weekly benefit amount of claimants under the unemployment compensation law of the State of Ohio."

Lined up against the proposed law are all the bosses' organizations, under the leadership of their "Ohio Information Committee," formed by the employers after the measure was certified for the ballot. Headed by Rep. Horace W. Troop, chairman of the legislative committee which rejected the bill, the OIC is raising a war chest of between one and two million dollars by taxing its members 75 cents per employe.

Smaller Business of America, Inc., "educators," and similar groups have been swept into the campaign by the OIC with horror tales of increased taxes, encouragement for "loafers" and "deadheads" and similar catchwords.

But the more powerful Associated Industries of Cleveland bluntly states that its chief objection is "Not only because it is too much money for not working, but even more important, because of the method the CIO has chosen to gain this end."

The basic issue, says Associated Industries, is who shall decide the amount of unemployment benefits—"a special group (in this case the CIO) or the elected representatives of the people of Ohio."

The "method the CIO has chosen" and to which the bosses object is the referendum provided for in the Ohio Constitution whereby a law may be voted in by a majority of all the voters when the businessmen, lawyers and big farm interests' private club known as the legislature fails to act on it.

This constitutional provision becomes a democratic right the capitalists attack when labor begins to show signs of using it for independent political action by the working class acting in its own interest.

The organized employers' line of reasoning is expressed even more sharply by the Cleveland News editorial of Sept. 8:

"The test created by the CIO's initiated petition vote is whether or not the CIO is strong enough to take control of Ohio away from the duly elected representatives of the people.

"The issue in November is whether Ohio voters shall surrender orderly legislative processes to the dictations of the Ohio CIO."

The obvious misrepresentation in the editorial, of course, is the idea that a decision by a majority of the voters is dictation of the CIO.

Unfortunately, neither the CIO leaders nor any other section of the labor leadership is trying to take control of Ohio away from the bosses' representatives. They are not even proposing to organize a labor party.

All they are proposing are some minor reforms of the unemployment compensation law, which is so stringent in its provisions and administered so much in the employers' favor that 47.3% of all applicants are refused payment in Ohio as compared with an average of 24.4% in the other 47 states.

THREAT TO GAW

One of the reasons behind the special drive of the CIO to pass the proposed law is that the "guaranteed annual wage" (or, more correctly, supplementary unemployment benefits) clauses of the contracts signed with Ford and General Motors this year will, in effect, be cancelled if Ohio and Michigan do not amend their unemployment compensation laws to permit claimants to receive payments regardless of what they may receive from a GAW contract.

But regardless of the limited objectives of the labor leaders and the reactionary motives of the employers, the struggle has a logic of its own in lining up the class forces involved.

What started as a CIO initiated petition to the legislature, in which labor representatives went hat in hand to Columbus to appear before committees with testimony as to why the reforms are needed and why they are good for business, has developed into open political class struggle.

CLASS LINEUP

All the employers and their agents are lined up against all sections of the labor movement. Both sides have formed committees to co-ordinate their campaigns, raise funds and get out the vote. Daily debates are being held between union and employer representatives on radio, television, and at meetings.

Everyone is being forced to take sides. The NAACP, despite its conservative leadership, naturally lined up with labor against the traditional opponents of its campaigns for fair employment practices legislation. Fraternal organizations like the Eagles, and some clergymen from working class districts have taken a stand in support of the proposed law.

Regardless of the outcome of the vote, this is only a first step in the political struggles of the workers in this state. By their control of the state the capitalists will continue to administer unemployment compensation laws in their own class interests. By their control of industry, they will continue to organize production for profit at the expense of the workers' standard of living and security.

The real solution for labor lies in doing what it is incorrectly being accused of doing in the present campaign — taking control of the state and production out of the hands of the capitalists and their duly elected representatives in the legislature.

A Scab's Life

National Guardsmen check car carrying scabs into Perfect Circle plant at New Castle, Ind. While the scab enters, works and leaves the plant under the watchful eye of the military he must then face his former shopmates, neighbors and family for the rest of the day. He must also live with himself — for the rest of his life.

A Close Look at the South

By John Thayer

In the 1890's the Southern ruling class, threatened with political overthrow by the poor white farmers and the Negroes organized into the Populist Party, perfected the technique of racist politics. This technique (plus violence and fraud at the polls) saved it then and keeps it in power today.

The technique is simple. It was to suppress the class struggle in politics by forcing one trumped-up issue into the stage and giving it a political monopoly.

In the 1890's in the South, the ruling class saw that the way to save its rule was to "unite" all the whites of the South against the Negroes. It was not an easy task but propaganda, lynchings, accusations that the Populists stood for "negro domination" had their effect. As the Populists lost ground and the poor whites began to lose hope in a Populist victory and a new society, the vacuum left began to fill with racism and frustration.

POPULISTS CAPITULATE

In state after state, as the ruling class decisively defeated the Populists, the Negroes were deprived of the vote and total segregation, as we know it today, was put onto the Southern statute books. With their Negro allies disenfranchised and racism rampant, the short-sighted Populist leaders decided that if they stopped defending Negro rights then their opponents wouldn't be able to shout "Negro domination" at them.

They mistakenly thought that the race issue would disappear from politics and then, unharrassed by this problem, they could organize the poor whites for the overthrow of the political rule of the plantation owners, bankers and merchants.

They were wrong. The race issue never disappeared from Southern politics. The Bourbons raised it at every election. Demagogues saw its effectiveness and raised it constantly. Finally the former Populist leaders tried to outdo their opponents by using it. Many who had once defended Negroes with their lives and elected them to high office in the Populist Party became unscrupulous white-supremacy propagandists.

Ever since then any movement of the poor white farmers or the white workers in the South toward a class struggle policy has been immediately smothered with an officially-sponsored blanket of racist agitation.

This strategy is now being employed to the maximum in the South. The militancy of the Negro people, the movement of labor there toward unionism, the friendliness of white middle class youth to Negroes has terrified the ruling class of the South. This has increased in the fight for school desegregation. Like an octupus, the Southern ruling class has been flooding the poisonous ink of racism over the South trying to "unite" all whites on an anti-Negro basis and to drive off the political scene all opponents.

SPECTER OF UNITY

The Dixiecrat movement, the KKKs and Citizens Councils, the terror in Mississippi is all part of the campaign to suppress the emerging class struggle in the South which raises the specter of an alliance of the Negroes and poor whites against the Bourbons.

This strategy has succeeded to a certain extent already. Most of the liberals have run like rabbits at the first shouts of "N.....r lover," and "Negro domination." Homer Bigart gives a typical example in his recent series on the South when he writes: **"To the dismay of supporters who thought him 'liberal' on the issue, North Carolina's Governor Luther B. Hodges in a speech Aug. 8, urged Negroes to accept 'voluntary' segregation, coupling this completely unrealistic plea with a warning that the state might be forced to abandon the public school system unless the Negroes waived their constitutional rights."**

Not a single important Southern liberal has come out for school desegregation. They have become silent or assure the white supremacists that they are not for it.

Does opposing the white supremacists really mean political death in the South as the liberals believe? In Alabama, Gov. Folsom, whom every Southern paper calls a demagogue, is too clever to believe that. He has built his following among poor whites by raising some class issues — pensions and highways (important in giving poor farmers access to markets). In fighting the plantation owners and businessmen he has adopted the tactic of sending registrars into their districts and registering a limited number of Negro voters as a threat.

Keen enough to realize that racism is poison to the class support that he is building his political career on he avoids race baiting. "When politicians start hollering 'Whip the N . . . r,'" Folsom told Bigart, "then you know damn well they are trying to cover up dirty tracks." An opportunist capitalist politician, not a crusader, Folsom is against school desegregation in Alabama, but says little on the subject. When the white-supremacist legislature passed a school bill aimed at stopping any possible desegregation, Folsom vetoed it, as he did another bill aimed at virtually outlawing the NAACP.

Folsom's ability to see the class forces in the South — from his own point of view—is illustrated by such statements as that the moneyed interests "finance racists all the time. That's how they keep poor white folks under subjection — with that one issue." Significantly he has denounced the anti-labor "right-to-work" laws.

Folsom's significance lies in his successful use of class issues. This demonstration of the superior attraction of class issues over racism for poor whites in the Deep South is of great symptomatic importance.

There are other encouraging signs. In some parts of the South Negroes have partially won the right to vote and have made local alliances with labor to elect Negro and labor representatives to city office. Unions, though for the most part timid, have opposed the racist agitation on the school issue. Recent strikes have seen Negro and white unity grow and break Jim Crow barriers and segregation laws. Voices like that of The Southerner, a religious pro-labor newspaper in north Georgia, are speaking out for equality.

Most inspiring is the example of the CIO Packinghouse Workers which has led several militant strikes in the Deep South. Proudly interracial from its rank and file to its top leadership, this union held a conference in Atlanta and demanded federal seizure and integration of Southern schools that would not desegregate.

It is notable that this union sent an interracial delegation of women from Gramercy, Louisiana, (where a bitter strike is in process) to observe the whitewash trial of Emmett Till's lynchers in Sumner, Mississippi.

[Last of a series of three articles]

Protest Meeting on Till Lynching Held in Phila.

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 23 — As a continuation of the national wave of protest over the murder of Emmett Till, a mass protest meeting, called by the local branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was held here today.

More than 3,500 crowded the Tindley Temple Methodist Church to demonstrate their resentment and indignation in Philadelphia's first meeting on the case.

The audience was composed mainly of working-class Negroes with a sprinkling of middle-class whites. It took the occasion to show how it felt by a magnificent response to the appeal for funds. The whole audience, from the balcony on through formed a procession that took a half-hour to pass the collection table with their donations. Quite a few stopped to sign NAACP membership cards.

They were moved by the plain, simple words of Emmett Till's uncle, Moses Wright. They listened intently to the description of NAACP branch work in the South given by the Southern Regional Director, Mrs. Ruby Hurley.

After firing the imagination of all by picturing the dangerous and courageous work they undertake in Dixie, all Mrs. Ruby could recommend to Northerners was a plea to use their vote. For whom?

Vote for anyone who would not make a deal with the Southern politicians, she advised. Who could this mean? No indication was given. Mrs. Hurley voiced no criticism of either capitalist party, Republican or Democrat, nor did she mention them by name.

The only other political note of the meeting was a resolution addressed to the Department of Justice requesting an investigation of the recent whitewash trial of Till's lynchers.

Appallingly apparent was the lack of any support to the meeting by organized labor even though the large national organizations of the unions have gone on record on the Till case. No one on the platform represented organized labor.

About 300 copies of the Militant were sold outside the meeting, providing many of the answers the audience sought.

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